1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

000 associated with belief. The ceremonial in Torres Straits had been swept away, while the stories of the legendary heroes were almost all that remained to the people of the old life and were in consequence still cherished.

177 Among the Todas missionary influence, whether of Christian or Hindu, has had little effect, and the ritual of the Todas in 538 some parts of the hills is almost, if not quite, untouched by 797 outside influences.[1] The effect of intercourse with other peoples seems to be showing itself largely in the form of loss of interest in the stories of the past.

171 One of the most striking aspects of the customs and ceremonies of the Todas is that these have in many cases no exact parallels in other places. Perhaps the most definite result which modern research in anthropology has brought out is the extraordinary similarity of custom throughout the world. Customs apparently identical are found in races so widely separated geographically and so diverse ethnologically that it seems certain the customs must have developed in total independence of one another. There seems to be an identity of idea actuating custom in peoples very different from one another in their surroundings and conditions of life.

The nearest parallels to Toda custom and ceremonial are undoubtedly to be found in the Indian peninsula, but even here, though there is often a general resemblance, this breaks down on going into detail. Even when the resemblance is so close as to suggest a common origin, the differences in detail are often very great.[2]

177 One clue to this exceptional nature of Toda custom and belief is to be found in the geographical position of the people, which has to a large extent isolated them from the world in general.

133 The plateau on which they live, broken by numerous hills and valleys, is the top of a scarp formed by the meeting of the Eastern and Western Ghats. Some of the hills project

[1] As we shall see later, this is only true of some parts of the hills and some institutions.

[2] With more exact knowledge of Indian customs and ceremonies which have lingered on side by side with, though often obscured by Brahmanism, it is possible that these differences would be found to be much slighter than the evidence at present available suggests.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 of this kind. The earthenware vessels used in the ordinary
415 dairy-work are made by the Kotas.

The names of the different dairy vessels vary according to
177 the dairy in which they are used, and these, together with a complete list of the dairy vessels and implements, will be reserved till later.

234 The method of churning is shown in Fig. 15. The churning
412 is always done within the hut or dairy, but in order to obtain a photograph of the process a staff was put in the ground
415 outside a hut, so that the figure shows exactly the method used within the hut or dairy. The upright staff is called *palmän*, or 'milk-tree'; the two rings by means of which the churning-stick is fastened to the *palmän* are called *palkati*, or 'milk-ties.' The cord by which the churning-stick, or *madth* is revolved is called *kudinan* or *palv*.

234 The general plan of the dairy operations appears to be much the same as that practised elsewhere in India. There
171 are, however, two special features of the Toda procedure which, so far as I know, are not in general use elsewhere. One of these is the addition of buttermilk from a previous churning. This addition probably hastens the process of coagulation, and has a material use, but in the hands of the Todas it has become of great ceremonial importance, and forms the basis of some of the most interesting features of the dairy ritual.

The other special feature which does not seem to be generally found in India is the addition of grain or rice when clarifying the butter. Unlike the addition of buttermilk, this has no ceremonial value, and is chiefly important in providing the Todas with one of their favourite foods.

The Care of the Ordinary Buffaloes

234 The ordinary buffaloes, or *putiir*, of a village are looked after
463 and milked by the males of the village; by those who in Toda terminology are *peryol*, or ordinary men, as compared with those who have been ordained to one of the sacred dairy offices.

234 When the people rise in the morning, the buffaloes are

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

only occasion on which a dairyman of this grade prepares food. Thus, when the milk of the *wursulir* is used ceremonially as a food by ordinary people, the food is prepared by the dairyman-priest. One feature of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony is that the work is performed *kabkaditi* in every dairy, and it is possible that this sign of increased respect is intended to counteract the desecration which is about to take place in the use of the milk by the profane. As I have already pointed out, the *irpalvusthi* ceremony has a strong resemblance to a sacrificial feast, in which people partake of the sacred animal, but in this case it is the milk of the animal and not the animal itself which is taken.

A further indication of the sanctity of milk is given in the prohibition against the drinking of milk by a widower or widow during a period which, as we shall see later, may extend to many months.

The restrictions on the use of the milk of the sacred animals have the general characters associated with taboos, and the whole daily ritual of the dairy would seem to be designed to remove the taboo. It is possible that at one time the milk of the sacred buffaloes was not used at all, and that these animals only suckled their calves. If then the Todas had begun to milk the sacred buffaloes, it is natural that the milking and churning should have been accompanied by ritual designed to counteract the evils to be expected from the profanation of the sacred substance and the breaking of the taboo. In certain circumstances even now the Todas do not milk their sacred buffaloes, but allow them to suckle their calves only. If a *ti* dairy, or even one of a lower grade, has no dairyman, the buffaloes are not milked, though they are still tended by some unsanctified person, and are kept ready to take their part in the dairy ritual if a dairyman should again be appointed.

Special Dairy Customs

The general method of treating the milk in the dairy procedure seems to be the same as that generally followed in India and other hot countries. The milk is allowed to

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

171 coagulate and the curd is churned. The butter so obtained
234 differs from that of European countries in containing the proteid as well as the fat constituents of milk. This butter is then clarified, but in this respect there is an important difference between the ordinary Hindu procedure and that of the Todas. The usual Hindu method is to heat slowly over
[262] a fire without the addition of any other substance. The Todas add grain or rice to the butter before clarification, and this sinks to the bottom of the vessel and forms a substance called by the Todas *al*, which is one of their chief foods. This deposit of grain or rice will carry down with it some, possibly all, of the proteid constituents, and the *al* will, therefore, be a nourishing food.

The only other detail in which the Toda procedure is peculiar[1] is in the addition of buttermilk from a previous churning to the newly-drawn milk, the buttermilk or *pep* being put into the vessel before milking. This addition probably hastens the process of coagulation, but its chief interest is derived from the fact that it has become the nucleus of some of the most interesting features of the dairy ceremonial.

234 This addition of buttermilk seems to be regarded as forming
445 a thread of continuity in the dairy ritual, and the ceremony of
778 *pepkaricha*, or making new *pep*, is held whenever this con-
788 tinuity is broken. The *pep* is connected with a dairy vessel of the kind called *mu*, which is buried in the buffalo pen, and if any evil befalls the *mu*, it is held to be a cause for making new *pep*—*i.e.*, the usual course of the dairy procedure will be interrupted, in some cases for months.

The buried dairy vessel seems to be linked in some mysterious way with the fortunes of the dairy, and especially with the buttermilk which forms the element of continuity in the dairy procedure. The buried dairy vessel, or *mu*, is not one which is now generally used to hold buttermilk. There are two kinds of *mu* in the dairy, one which contains the butter added during the churning, while the other is used,

[1] It is an Indian practice to add sour buttermilk to the milk to promote coagulation, but this is usually done after heating the milk. It is possible that in some parts of India it may be added to the milk before or immediately after it is drawn.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

773 I think it is possible that Teitnir was right, and that the denial
782 of the other Todas was due to their reluctance that I should
796 know the real belief about this ceremony. Even if not correct, Teitnir's account is valuable as a record of an ingenious example of Toda reasoning.

171 At the ceremony I witnessed there was one feature of
782 some interest. When it was found that the calf had not been killed by the blow with the log of *tudr* wood, the animal was belaboured over the testicles. This procedure had not been included in the account given to me before the ceremony, and I could not discover how far it is an established custom to kill the animal in this way if it is not killed by the blow. The interest arises from the fact that in the ancient Vedic sacrifices, the animal was killed by stopping its mouth and beating it severely ten or twelve times on the testicles till it was suffocated.[1] I have not been able to discover whether this method of killing an animal is still practised in India. If so, it has probably been borrowed by the Todas; but if not, this ancient Indian method may have been preserved by the Todas. I did not observe that the mouth of the calf was stopped at the sacrifice which I witnessed, but this was probably done.

The Erkumptthpimi Prayer of Kuudr

192 This consists of clauses of the form *Atthkark per ma* in
782 which the following *kwarzam* of villages are mentioned:
788 *Atthkâr* and *Òners* (Kuudr), *Kidnârs* and *Toarsòdri* (Ars),
621 *Moskar* and *Manêthi* (Òdr), *Keikòdr* and *Karsülh* (Melkòdr), *Kwoteiners* and *Kwelpushol* (Kiudr), *Tashtakhkush* (Pirsush), *Kwotirkwirg* (Kwirg), *Toarskâria* (Karia), *Pârners* and *Ttindeuk* (Miuni). These are followed by the final two clauses, *karsêram parsêram*, *Nòtîrzk êr usht mâ*.

The chief features of this prayer are that the chief villages of the Kuudrol have each two *kwarzam* and that two *kwarzam* of Òdr, a Nòdrs village, are included (see p. 647).

[1] Haug's *Aitareya Brahmanam*, Bombay, 1863, vol. ii., p. 85, note 11.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

843 the neck of the woman formed any part of the Toda ceremony.

It seemed, however, that after *pursütpimi* the woman is allowed to resume her ornaments, which she has been prohibited from wearing up to this time, and it is possible that this resumption of her ornaments may have been mistaken for "tying the *tali*." It seemed clear, however, that the ornaments were not put on by the husband, nor did the resumption of the ornaments partake in any way of a ceremonial character.

As I hoped to have a chance of witnessing this ceremony during my visit, I did not thresh out the details of *pursütpimi* as thoroughly as those of most other ceremonies and my account is not as complete as I could wish.

[851] The ceremony of *pursütpimi* is of the greatest importance from the social point of view and, as we shall see later, the fatherhood of the child depends entirely upon it. The man who gives the bow and arrow is the father of the child for all social purposes, and is regarded as such even if he has had nothing to do with the woman before the ceremony.

The ceremony must always be performed during the first pregnancy of a woman and it takes place in any succeeding pregnancy only when it is desired for any reason to alter the fatherhood of the children. One of the most serious scandals [604] in Toda society is the birth of a child when the mother has not been through this ceremony.

[764] Both the pregnancy ceremonies are performed at the first funeral of an unmarried or barren woman. In the case of an unmarried girl the bow and arrow are given at the *pursütpimi* ceremony by a *matchuni* of the deceased—*i.e.*, by a relative whom the deceased girl might herself have married. The hand-burning of the *urvatpimi* ceremony is usually performed by a woman of the same clan as the deceased.

171 Since the ceremonies are only performed at the first
843 pregnancy, or when it is desired to change the fatherhood
851 of a child, it seems clear that they closely resemble marriage
585 ceremonies. They would seem to be either marriage ceremonies which have been postponed till shortly before the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

birth of the first child,[1] or, what is more probable, pregnancy ceremonies resembling those customary in India, which have acquired social significance and have come to resemble marriage ceremonies. But the numerous ceremonies which are performed during pregnancy by the Hindus take place during every pregnancy and are, therefore, sharply differentiated from the Toda rites.

CHILDBIRTH

When the woman returns from the seclusion-hut after the *urvatpimi* ceremony she lives in her usual home with the rest of the family and does her usual work, and she is delivered there. It seemed that any one might be present, and that there was no special ceremony connected with delivery.

During delivery, the woman kneels with her head resting on the breast of a man, usually her husband, who clasps his hands behind her neck. She is tended by a woman, usually by one noted for skill in these matters. If there is much delay, all men and women present lay their hands on the head of the woman and say:

"*Swâmi maz vûrmâ; swâmi pûdikan termâ.*"

If this is not efficacious a man brings water in a vessel and prays, stirring the water with a piece of grass of the kind called *kakar*. When the prayer is finished, the man sprinkles the water over the woman.

The cord (*pekti*) is cut with a knife, being held down with a stick while it is being cut.

The afterbirth is called *naj* or *pekûkûdri*. If there is delay in its delivery, a medicine called *najmad* is given which is procured from the Badagas. The afterbirth is buried on the day on which the woman goes to the seclusion-hut, a few days after delivery.

[1] This seems to have occurred in a similar ceremony practised by the Badagas, among whom it is said that a woman is not fully considered a wife till about the seventh month of the first pregnancy, when a cord is put round her neck by the husband and the legal marriage becomes complete. (See Thurston, *Bull.* IV., p. 167.)

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

A further mysterious feature of these ceremonies is that

the two rites which seem to bring women into special relation with the dairy are limited to the Tartharol. If these rites be regarded as relics of a time when women had more to do with dairy operations than at present, the possibility follows that this former function of women was limited to one division of the Todas.

I could obtain no explanation of the meaning of the word *pülpali*, used for the imitation dairy made in the Tarthar ceremonies. *Püli* means tamarind, and in a ceremony of the Nairs of Malabar called *pulikati*, performed in the ninth month of pregnancy, the woman drinks tamarind juice.[1] It is possible that the two ceremonies have a common origin, the only indication of which in the Toda ceremony lingers in the name of 'tamarind dairy.' It is, however, possible that the dairy is so called because it is made on the outskirts of the village, though I do not know definitely that the word *pül* would be used for outskirts in this special sense.

Uncovering the Child's Face

While in the seclusion-hut with its mother and for some time after, the child has its face covered, and no one except the mother is allowed to see it. At the end of the third month[2] the face of the child is uncovered, and this ceremony is called *mokh mûtâr terithti*, "child outside he opens," or, more shortly, *mûtâr terthpimi*. If the child is a boy, he is taken by his father early in the morning to the front of the dairy, and both father and child bow down at the threshold of the dairy (*pavnersatiti*), the child being put down by his father so that his forehead touches the threshold. The child is then taken to the place where the buffaloes are standing, and there the face is uncovered, the child being held so that he looks towards the sun when the covering is removed.

If the child is a girl, she is taken by her mother to the *majvatvatiidrn*, the place where the women go to receive

[1] Fawcett, *Bull. Madras Museum*, vol. iii. p. 242.

[2] According to one account the ceremony takes place on the fortieth day after birth.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

called *pali* or dairy, even when built for the occasion, all bring the funeral ceremonies of men into connexion with the religious dairy ceremonial of the Todas. On the other hand, even in those cases in which a dairy is used as a funeral hut, the dairyman of that dairy has nothing to do with the funeral ceremonies; thus, at Nòdrs the dairy in which the body of a dead man is laid is the *tarvali*, but the *tarvalikartmokh* has no duties in connexion with the funeral, and does his dairy work as usual, while it is the dairyman of the conical *poh*, the *wursol*, who takes an active part in the funeral rites.

The earth-throwing ceremony is of especial interest, because it would seem to be a relic of burial. Earth is thrown three times on the corpse before it is burnt. In connexion with the idea that the ceremony is a relic of a previous stage, in which the Todas buried their dead, it may be mentioned that a ceremony with some points of similarity is performed at the funerals of the Hill Arrians of the Western Ghats,[1] who bury their dead. A man of the same clan as the deceased takes a new cloth and tears from it a narrow strip which he fastens upon himself. He then goes backwards to the place fixed for the grave and digs with a hoe, removing three hoes full of earth. In this ceremony he is said to be calling on the earth to give up six feet for the dead. There is a suggestive resemblance between the ceremonies performed by these two hill tribes of South-west India, which lends some support to the view that the earth-throwing ceremony of the Todas is a relic of inhumation.

It perhaps may be regarded as a fact inconsistent with this view that the earth-throwing ceremony is performed at both funerals, and again the throwing of earth into a buffalo pen is so essential a feature that it is possible the whole ceremony may have some other meaning.

It is tempting to extend the conjecture by supposing that the dead were at one time buried in the *tu* or buffalo pen, but there is, as far as I know, no evidence that this was ever done by the Todas or by any other Indian tribe. Unless, indeed, the *azaram* is the representative of a *tu*, in which case the burial of the ashes at the entrance of the *azaram* may be

[1] See Fawcett, *Journ. Anthrop. Soc. Bombay*, 1890, vol. ii., p. 146.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

601 The Toda system appears to be closely related to that
171 of the Dravidians of Southern India. In several cases the names for certain kin are identical with or closely resemble those of other South Indian languages.

The three most characteristic features of the Toda system are (i.) the use of the same term for mother's brother and father-in-law, &c.; (ii.) the marked development of vocative forms of the kinship terms; (iii.) the marked development of distinctions according to age. These three features are also found in Tamil, and as far as my information goes in Telugu and Canarese. The Toda system appears to be a simplified form of the Tamil system with many points of identity. The resemblance between the Toda and the Tamil names seems certainly to be closer than that between the Toda names and those of the Telugus and Canarese.

I do not wish here to consider these resemblances and differences in any detail, but in the Table on the opposite page I have given a list of those kinship terms in which the Todas resemble other inhabitants of Southern India. The Tamil terms I owe to Mr. K. Rangachari of Madras; the others I have taken from Morgan's *System of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Race*.

KINSHIP TABOOS

601 A man never mentions the name of his *mun*. If he wishes
551 to make clear of whom he is speaking he will give the name
784 of the place at which his *mun* lives, as "*Tedshteiri ithvai en mun podchi*," "My uncle who lives at Tedshteiri." This restriction only applies to the own brothers of his mother. Other more distant *mun* may be spoken of by name, and as we have already seen, if a man wishes to make it clear of whom he is speaking, he mentions the name in addition to the kinship term.

A man is also prohibited from uttering the name of the man from whom he has received his wife—*i.e.*, to whom he has done *kalmelpudithti* (see p. 502). This man, who is called the *mokhudrtvaiol*, is usually the father of the wife and would normally be also a *mun*, but sometimes the place of the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

mokhudrtvaiol is usurped by somebody else and in such a case there might be no restriction on the name of the wife's real father. In the only case of this kind of which I have a record, the marriage of Siriar (20) and Pupidz, the place of *mokhudrtvaiol* was taken by Kuriolv, who was living with Pilimurg (7), the girl's mother, and though he was no real

	Toda.	Tamu.	Telegu.	Canarese.
Son.....	mokh	maghan		
Elder brother ...	an (anna)	aṇṇan (aṇṇa)	anna	anna
Elder sister	akkan (akka)	akkal (akka)	akka	akka
Mother's brother.	mun (mâmâ)	amman or maman (mama)	mena mama	mava
Father-in-law ...	mun (mama)	mamaner (mama)	mama	mava
Father's sister ...	mumi (mimia)	attai		
Wife of mother's brother	mumi (mimia)	ammami		
Wife's mother ...	mumi (mimia)	mamiyar (ammami)		
Sister's son	manmokh	maruman or marumakan		
Mother's brother's son	matchuni	maittunan (?)		
Father's sister's son	matchuni	aitan or maittunan		
Wife's brother ...	matchuni or paiol	machchinan or maittunan		

relative of the wife, Siriar might not mention his name. In spite of the fact, however, that Kuriolv had become his *mokhudrtvaiol*, Siriar went privately to Patirsh (35), the real father of his wife, and did *kalmelpudithi* and would also refrain from saying the name of this man.

A man is prohibited from saying the name of his wife's mother (*mumi*), but my notes do not make clear whether he is also prohibited from saying the names of other *mumi*—*i.e.*,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

one wife, and each house belongs to a family of this kind, and is handed on to the children of the brothers. 423 595

If the brothers quarrel, the affair is settled by the *naim*, and it is usually decided that one brother or more than one of the brothers shall occupy the house for a certain period, usually a year, and that at the end of this period he (or they) shall move to another village, when another brother or brothers will occupy the house. 598 627

Such disputes do not seem to be frequent, but one was in existence during my visit. The two younger of three brothers had taken a wife without the knowledge of the eldest. The latter did not approve of the choice, and wished his brothers to send the wife away, which they refused to do. As the dispute had not yet been settled, the eldest brother at the time of my visit was living in the house, while the other brothers were living at the village of their newly chosen wife.

If a family dies out, it seems that the house is not, as a rule, taken on by another family. It falls into disuse, and in time disappears. As a village may sometimes consist of one house only, villages may disappear in this way, and the ruins of some villages were pointed out to me which had fallen into disuse owing to the dying out of the families which formerly occupied them. A really important village, *i.e.*, one with an important dairy, would of course never disappear in this way, but it is possible that the reason why some villages, such as Nasmiödr and Kanödrs, now consist of a dairy only, is that the families which possessed the houses at these villages became extinct. I do not, however, know positively that a house at such an important village may not, in some cases, be taken over by another family. 425 361 621

Breeks has stated that the Toda custom is that the house shall pass to the youngest son. It seems quite clear that this is wrong, and that this custom is absolutely unknown among the Todas. It is, however, a Badaga custom, and among them I was told that it is due to the fact that as the sons of a family grow up and marry, they leave the house of the parents and build houses elsewhere. It is the duty of the youngest son to dwell with his parents and support them as long as they [114 428] 176

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

171 live, and when they die he continues to live in the parental home, of which he becomes the owner.

234 422 428 176 *Buffaloes.* These are to a very large extent individual property. In practice, owing to the fact that brothers usually live together, a herd of buffaloes is treated as the property of a family of brothers, but whenever the occasion arises there are definite rules for the division of the buffaloes among them.

I have already referred to the fact that certain herds of buffaloes, such as the *ti* herds and the *kugvalir* of Taradr, are the common property of a clan, but the great majority of both sacred and ordinary buffaloes belong to families or individuals.[1] When a man who owns a certain number of buffaloes dies, the buffaloes are not necessarily divided among his sons. If the sons are all living together, the buffaloes may be treated as if they were common property. The milk of the ordinary buffaloes is churned in the dwelling-hut, and that of the sacred buffaloes in the dairy, and the produce in each case is regarded as the property of the whole family. It is only when dissensions arise, or when some reason makes it desirable that the brothers should separate and live in different villages, that the laws regulating the partition of buffaloes come into force.

When such an occasion arises the buffaloes are equally divided among the brothers, with the exception that the eldest son and the youngest son each receive one buffalo in excess of the rest. This custom is known as *irvdkhtudr meilkudr*, or "if divide buffaloes, superior portion."

If there are only two sons, each will get *meilkudr*, and the buffaloes are equally divided; but if there should be an unequal number of buffaloes, the odd buffalo is taken by the elder son.

If there are more than two sons, the buffaloes are equally divided with *meilkudr* to the eldest and youngest, and any odd buffaloes are in this case sold and the proceeds equally divided, or, more commonly, one of the brothers takes the odd buffaloes and gives the right proportion of their value to the other brothers.

[1] On p. 70 I have given an example of the ownership of sacred buffaloes in the Kars clan.

I: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

764 The pounder, sieve, and broom are burnt at the funerals of
775 women, who use the pounder on their journey to the other world. A special kind of sieve called *kudchimarn* is also burnt at the *asaramkadr*, but I believe that this is burnt at all funerals, both of males and females.

171 The pounder, sieve, and broom are widely endowed with
778 magical properties, and this is especially the case in India,[1] but I do not know of any other instance in which they are especially regarded as the emblems of woman.

Weapons

411 At the present time it cannot be said that the Todas use
796 any weapons, but they retain in their ceremonies weapons
764 which were, no doubt, formerly in use. These are the club and the bow and arrow.

178 The club only remains in the funeral ceremonies, in which it is called *nawadad* (see Fig. 67), and is burnt at the *asaramkadr*, and several other special sticks are also burnt, which may have been of the nature of clubs.

[777] The bow and arrow have left more traces of their former importance. They are burnt at the *asaramkadr* of a man, and the weapons for this purpose are provided by the Kotas. The bow and arrow are also used in the *koltiti* ceremony of
411 a Tarthar funeral. In the *purutipini* ceremony the husband
796 gives an imitation bow and arrow to his wife. The bow gives its name to the ceremony and its gift forms the essential incident of the ceremony. Further, the bow has a special name different for each clan. The use of an arrow lingers in name in other ceremonies. In the *erkumpttkpini* ceremony, the knife used for cutting up the sacrificed calf is called *ab*, or arrow. In the ceremony of *teruumpttpini* a lock of hair is cut from a young child with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, or "eye arrow," but this name is only in use among the
411 Tartharol. The use of these words seems to point to a time
174 when iron-tipped arrows were used as cutting instruments,
178 and it is even possible that this is a survival of a time when

[1] See Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, 1896, vol. ii. pp. 189–191.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

nthkhi and the more important ceremonies of *erkumpttkpimi*, take place soon after the new moon marking the commencement of this month, and these ceremonies were sometimes said to signalise the beginning of a new year. The following are the names of the Toda months, with the periods of our year to which they approximately correspond:— 805

Tul	October—November
Ewisiri	November—December
Kithiri	December—January
Aithri	January—February
Nalithri	February—March
Ani	March—April
Aithri	April—May
Adi	May—June
Ovdwi	June—July
Perithki	July—August
Tudwi	August—September
Kwdwi	September—October.

Each month has thirty days. A record is kept of the number of days from one new moon to the full moon, and from that to the next new moon. The full moon is counted as being on the fifteenth day after the new moon, and the new moon as being on the sixteenth day after the full moon.

The Week

The names for the days of the week are as follows:—

Arnaw	Sunday
Tingaw	Monday
Ôw	Tuesday
Pithawa	Wednesday
Tîw	Thursday
Pilliwa	Friday
Thanisaw or *Tanisaw*	Saturday.

According to Schmid, who wrote in 1837, *Ôw* is regarded as the first day of the week. Schmid also notes that the names for Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday agree in etymology with Tamil, Wednesday being Buddha's day and Friday the day of Venus. He gives *Etnaf* as an alternative name for Saturday. [171]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

A Single Star called Ishthati is almost certainly Sirius.

This star was not visible in the evenings during my visit, and at first Jupiter was pointed out to me as *Ishtkati*, but this was certainly wrong. *Ishtkati* appeared to correspond to the Badaga *etukadichi*, which means "bull deceiving." The origin of the name is that one night a Badaga went out from his house and saw a very bright star, so bright that he thought it was the morning star. So he let his bulls out from the enclosure in which he had put them for the night. When a long time passed and it did not become day, the man said, "Let the star be called *etukadichi*."

177 772 821

A pair of stars to which the Todas give the names of *Tádrvalmokh* and *Tidiishti* are near Aldebaran, forming part of the Hyades (probably γ and ϵ Tauri). The following story tells how these stars come to be in the sky.

773 821 171

Once on the hills there was a bird with young. The mother went away to get food and a snake came to eat the young ones. When the young birds saw the snake climbing up the tree, they called out to Kudursami, who is above. He heard their cry and took them to the sky. The name of the bird was *tádrval*, and so one star is called *tádrvalmokh*. The *tádrval* still sings "*Kudursami trrrrrr*."

According to another version, the bird *tádrval* had offended Swami, and as a punishment Swami took its young and they became the two stars.

This story appears to be a well-known Indian folk-tale, and it has certainly been a recent acquisition of the Todas.

It will be seen that there is much reason to believe that the greater part, if not all of the ideas of the Todas about the stars have been borrowed. In their own folk-lore there seems to be very little concerning the heavenly bodies except in the story of the man and the honey, and I even suspect this to be a borrowed legend which has been somewhat modified by Toda ideas.

177 772 773 821

It is interesting, and I think important, that references to Swami occur in these stars-myths. In an earlier chapter I have given it as my opinion that the idea of Swami has only recently been acquired by the Todas, and I attach importance to the occurrence of the name in legends which have certainly been borrowed from another race.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

thus no record earlier than three centuries ago, and no traditions of any value, and we are altogether thrown back on the evidence furnished by the manners and customs of the people, their language, and their physical characteristics.

Though the manners and customs of the Todas are in many ways unique, or very exceptional, there is a general resemblance between them and those comprised under the general title of Hinduism, and especially with such more popular customs as are described by Mr. Crooke.[1] The great development of the ritual aspect of religion, the importance of ceremonies connected with birth and death, the sacredness of the milk-giving animal, the nature of the system of kinship, the marriage regulations and many other features bear a general, and in some cases a close resemblance to institutions found in India generally, or in certain parts of India.

On the social side these resemblances are perhaps closer than on the religious side. The system of kinship is very similar to that of other parts of Southern India, and, so far as my knowledge goes, to that of India generally. The marriage regulation that the children of brother and sister should marry is found throughout Southern India and probably throughout the Dravidian population of India. The practice of polyandry probably exists scattered here and there throughout India, and has undoubtedly existed in recent times in Malabar. The practice of the *mokkthoditi* union between man and woman has also close analogies in Malabar.

On the religious side the high development of the dairy ritual, so far as I know, stands alone, but the customs connected with birth and death have many resemblances to practices followed in other parts of India, though this resemblance is general only and usually breaks down on going into detail.

Thus in Brahmanic ritual there are several ceremonies prescribed at different stages of pregnancy, and some Indian tribes or castes have pregnancy ceremonies peculiar to themselves, but I do not know of any tribe or caste except that

[1] *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*. London, 1896.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

171

of the Todas in which giving a bow and arrow forms the essential feature of a pregnancy ceremony, though it is not uncommon for this weapon to play a part in marriage rites, and in Coorg a little imitation bow and arrow is put into the hand of a newly born boy.

Similarly, seclusion after childbirth is common in India, and in the Brahmanic ceremony of Jatakarma water is poured over the heads of mother and child by the priest. In some cases from Mysore (see p. 705) there is a still closer resemblance to Toda custom, but there are some features of the Toda ceremonial for which I can find no parallel.

In many points, again, there are distinct resemblances between the practices of the Todas and the more popular customs of India; thus the pounder, sieve and broom frequently play a part in the popular magic of India,[1] as of other parts of the world, but I do not know of any parallel for their being regarded as especially the emblems of women, as they appear to be in Toda belief.

It is perhaps in the funeral ceremonies that we find the largest number of resemblances between Toda custom and that of other parts of India. Thus, among those who cremate their dead, it is usual to have ceremonies some time after the cremation, and some have regarded the second funeral ceremony of the Todas, the so-called dry funeral, as the representative of the Sapindi ceremony of orthodox Hinduism. Among several tribes fragments of bone are preserved after the cremation, which become the objects of further ceremonies. Thus, the Hos and Mundahs[2] preserve large fragments of bone, which are hung up in the house and are buried in an earthenware pot much later, after being taken in procession to every friend and relation of the deceased. Again, among the Saoras of Madras[3] fragments of bone are picked out from the ashes and covered over with a miniature hut.

Animals are frequently killed at funerals throughout India, and among the Saoras, just mentioned,[4] the animal is a

[1] Cf. Crooke, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 187–191.
[2] Dalton, *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, London, N.S., 1868, vol. vi, p. 37.
[3] Fawcett, *Journ. Anthrop. Soc.*, Bombay, 1888, vol. i. p. 249. [4] *Loc. cit.*

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

171 buffalo, which is killed close to the stone on which its blood is smeared. Again, among the Kois[1] a bullock is slain and the tail placed in the hand of the corpse.

A funeral practice which is very widely spread in India is the breaking of a pot, and in some cases the pot so broken is one which has contained the water used to quench the fire. Among the Naickers and the Reddies of South India[2] the body is bathed with water from an earthen pot, which is then dashed upon the ground, while in other places an earthen pot filled with water is carried round the body three times, after which the fire is lighted and later extinguished by water which runs from a perforation in the pot. The common Indian practice, according to Padfield,[3] is for the chief mourner to throw a pot over his head behind him so that it is dashed in pieces.

That the kindred should retire with averted faces from the place where the corpse is left is prescribed by Manu,[4] and the custom of burning or burying face downwards is practised by low caste people, the motive in this case being to prevent the evil spirit from escaping and troubling its neighbours.[5]

While there is thus a general resemblance between many of the manners and customs of the Todas and those existing in various parts of the Indian peninsula, there is one district which possesses customs and institutions which seem to stand in a much closer relation to those of the Todas than is the case elsewhere.

The social and religious customs of the west coast, and especially of Malabar, not only bear a general resemblance to the customs of the Todas, but this resemblance in some cases persists when followed into detail. The similarity would probably become still more obvious if we knew more of the customs of the less civilised inhabitants of this district of India.

In going over the resemblances I will begin with those on the social side. The most characteristic feature of the social

[1] Cain, *Ind. Antiq.*, 1876, vol. v, p. 357.
[2] Kearns, *Tribes of South India*, p. 51.
[3] *The Hindu at Home*, Madras, p. 234.
[4] IV. 240.
[5] Crooke, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. p. 269.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

organisation of the Todas is the institution of fraternal polyandry. The Nairs of Malabar have given their name to a different type of polyandry, but it is extremely doubtful whether the relations existing in recent times between Nair women and their consorts should be regarded as examples of polyandry. Nevertheless, there is undoubted evidence that true polyandry has existed in Malabar, and in the most definite examples known this has been of the fraternal type. From the Report of the Malabar Marriage Commission, published in 1891, it is clear that, though polyandry is now extinct in North Malabar, it still persists in some districts of South Malabar. One witness before the Commission stated that at one time polyandry was very prevalent in South Malabar, and that it was still the practice for a woman of the Kammalar or artisan caste to have five or six brothers as husbands, and the witness had known personally a woman in Calicut who was the wife of five brothers, spending a month at a time with each. Another witness stated that polyandry existed in some parts of Cochin, and in a few places in South Malabar. Another said that among the Tiyans of North Malabar it was the custom for one man to marry a girl for all the brothers of the family. One of the names for marriage in Malabar is *usham porukka*, which probably means "marriage by turns." The Kanisans or astrologers of Malabar proudly point out that, like the Pandavas, they used formerly to have one wife in common to several brothers, and that the custom is still observed by some.[1]

Polyandry is not the only marriage institution in which there is a resemblance between the Todas and the people of Malabar. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a Toda woman seems to be very much like the consort of a Nair woman, and when these consorts are, as they usually are, Nambutiris or Malabar Brahmans—*i.e.*, belong to a different caste—the resemblance to the *mokhthoditi* custom becomes very close.

More important is the custom of giving a cloth as the essential marriage ceremony. The two chief features of a Toda marriage are the giving of a loincloth to the girl and the salutation of the girl's relatives by the husband. Simi-

[1] Logan's *Malabar Manual*, vol. i. p. 141.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

171 larly the essential feature of the irregular union between man and woman is that the *mokhthodvaiol* gives a cloak to the woman, and the Badaga name by which the relation has previously been known is derived from this fact—the man is called the "blanket man" of the woman. Throughout the greater part of the Malabar coast the essential feature of the marriage ceremony is that the man gives a cloth to the woman. The Nairs have two marriage ceremonies,[1] of which the later, or *sambandham*, forms the actual alliance between man and woman. The ceremony of this marriage consists in giving a cloth, and various names for the ceremony, such as *muntukotukkuka*, *vastradanam*, *putavakota* and *pudamuri*, all mean "cloth-giving." In South Malabar a marriage is dissolved by tearing up a cloth called *kachcha*,[2] and among the Izhavas,[3] the actual wedding ceremony consists of the gift of a cloth.

The act of giving clothing as part of the marriage ceremony is found generally throughout India, but it seems to be a much more prominent and essential feature of marriage in Malabar than elsewhere.

Among the funeral ceremonies of the Todas there is one in which a cloth is laid on the body of the deceased. The essential feature of this ceremony is that a cloth is given by a man belonging to the clan of the deceased to those who have married into the clan, the cloth being then placed on the corpse by the wives of these men. The whole ceremony seems to be essentially a transaction between clans which have intermarried and evidently stands in a close relation to the regulation of marriage, and it is therefore of great interest not only that a cloth should play so prominent a part, but also that the word used for the cloth which gives the name to the ceremony should be *kach*, the same word as is used sometimes in Malabar for the cloth so important in the marriage ceremonies.

The resemblance between the Todas and Nairs in this direction goes, however, one step further. Among the funeral

[1] See *Malabar Marriage Commission* and Wigram's *Malabar Law and Custom*, 2nd ed., Madras, 1900.

[2] *Census of India*, 1901, vol. i., Eth. App., p. 136. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

ceremonies of the Nairs there is one called *potavekkuka*, in which new cotton cloths are placed on the corpse by the senior members of the deceased's Tarawad (corresponding to clan), followed by all the other members, sons-in-law, daughters-in-law, and other relatives. The details of the ceremony differ in the two communities; among the Nairs the placing of cloths is the duty of a wide circle of relatives, but the resemblance between the customs is sufficiently close to make it highly probable that we have to do with two developments of one custom.

The ceremony just described is not the only point in which the funeral rites of the Todas resemble those of Malabar. The earthen pot which I have already mentioned plays a part in the rites of both Nairs and Nambutiris. By the Nairs[1] the pot is carried three times round the pyre while the water leaks out through the holes, and on completing the third round the pot is dashed on the ground close by the spot where the head of the corpse had lain. The Nambutiris burn their dead and bury the ashes three days later, and when the body is being burnt an earthen pot containing water is carried round the fire, and is then punctured and the water received into another vessel, from which it is thrown on the fire, and then the pot is smashed and thrown away.[2]

We have seen that according to Toda belief it is necessary that those who have not been through certain ceremonies in life must do so after death, and the same belief is entertained by the Nambutiris, who tie the *tali* at the funeral of an unmarried girl,[3] just as the Todas perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony.

The Nairs collect pieces of unburnt bones from the ashes fourteen days after the cremation, but they either throw them into the nearest river or take them to some sacred place, thus following a frequent Indian practice.

There is one feature of the *urvatpimi* ceremony of the Todas which also suggests a possible link with Malabar, and this is the name, *pülpali*, given to the artificial dairy

[1] *Madras Gov. Museum Bull.*, iii. p. 247. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 70.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 61. See also Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, Oxford, 1899, p. 17.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

171 used by the Tartharol. The Nairs of Malabar have a ceremony at the ninth month called *pulikuti*, in which the woman drinks tamarind (*puli*) juice which has been poured over a knife by her brother.[1] The Toda word for the sour taste is *pülchiti*, derived from tamarind, and I have suggested that the name *pülpali* may mean 'tamarind dairy,' and be a survival of community between the Toda ceremony and that of Malabar.

171 I have now enumerated a number of points in which there
174 is a close resemblance between the customs of the Todas and those of the people of Malabar. In some cases, as in that of the cloth ceremony of the funeral, the resemblance is so close that we seem almost bound to seek its explanation either in identity of origin or in borrowing. We may be confident that if there has been any borrowing from the inhabitants of Malabar, it has not been recent, and we may also be fairly confident that the physical barrier in the past must have prevented any but the most infrequent intercourse between the inhabitants of the Nilgiri plateau and those of Malabar. If we attach any significance to the resemblances I have indicated, the conclusion seems almost inevitable that the Todas at some time lived in Malabar and migrated to the Nilgiri Hills, and it remains to inquire whether there are any other facts in favour of this view.

174 On one line of evidence I cannot speak with any authority,
197 but I strongly suspect that there is a very close resemblance between the Toda language and Malayalam.

I think there is little doubt that the Toda language is much more nearly allied to Tamil than to Canarese, and I believe that the contrary opinion of Dr. Pope was due to the inclusion in his material of many words borrowed by the Todas from their Canarese-speaking neighbours, the Badagas. Malayalam is closely allied to Tamil, differing from it chiefly in its disuse of the personal terminations of the verbs and in the large number of Sanscrit derivatives,[2] and I should like to make the suggestion, for the consideration of Dravidian philologists,

[1] *Madras Museum Bull.*, iii. p. 242.

[2] Cf. Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*, 2nd ed., London, 1875, p. 23.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

174
487

Malabar it is probable that they came by one or other of these paths.

174
782

There are two other districts which have some claim to be considered as possible places from which the Todas may have migrated—*viz.*, Mysore and Coorg.

The Todas regard with some reverence a Hindu temple at Nanjankudi in Mysore, and visit it to pay vows, and there is little doubt that they have done this for a long time. Further, Nòdrs, one of the oldest and most sacred of the Toda villages, is close to the present road from Mysore and may have been near the most convenient route from Mysore in ancient times. I think, however, that, though not recent, the relations with the Hindu temple at Nanjankudi are not of very great antiquity, and I am inclined to ascribe the Toda reverence for it to their association with the Badagas, who almost certainly came from Mysore. I have not been able to find many parallels to Toda customs in Mysore. In one case, however, the resemblance is very close. Among the Gollavalu of Mysore[1] a woman after delivery is turned out into a leaf or mat hut, about 200 yards from the village, and on the fourth day a woman of the village pours water over her. In this case the woman lives in the hut for three months, her husband also living in a special hut. Again, among the Kadu (or forest) Gollas of Mysore[2] the mother and child remain in a small shed outside the village for seven to thirty days.

171

The other district which has customs especially resembling those of the Todas is Coorg. Among the people of Coorg cloth-giving appears at one time to have formed the essential marriage ceremony, and there still exist what are called 'cloth-marriages,' in which a man becomes the husband of a woman merely by giving her a cloth. There is also some evidence that polyandry has been practised in Coorg, and I have already referred to the resemblance between the *pursūtpimi* ceremony of the Todas and the Coorg custom of giving a little bow and arrow to a newly born boy. The bow is made of a stick of the castor-oil plant and for the arrow

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Soc.*, Bombay, 1889, vol. i. p. 535.
[2] *Mysore Census Report*, 1901, Pt. i. p. 521.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

171 the leaf-stalk of the same plant is used. In Coorg the imitation bow and arrow is put into the hand of the newly born child, but this custom is not widely removed from that of the Todas in which the bow and arrow is put into the hand of the mother shortly before the child is born.

[173] The Todas know the people of Coorg, which they call Kwûrg, and have a tradition of an invasion of their hills by these people, but it is very improbable that there has been any direct borrowing, and it seems more likely that some of the customs of the Todas and Coorgs have had a common source.

171 The resemblance with the customs of Coorg are perhaps
174 more striking than with those of Mysore, and the former region is much more likely to have been influenced by Malabar than the latter. The links with Coorg do not weaken, and perhaps even strengthen, the conclusion that the Todas owe much to Malabar.

144 If we accept provisionally the view that the Todas
174 migrated to the Nilgiris from Malabar, we are next confronted with the problem as to whether they are directly derived from any of the races now living in that district. The most diverse views have been held by those who have considered the racial affinities of the Todas. Leaving on one side the conjectures of those who have supposed them to be Scythians, Druids, Romans, or Jews, we find that the Todas have been supposed by several writers to be of Aryan or Caucasic origin. De Quatrefages[1] grouped the Todas with the Ainus of Northern Japan and Keane[2] follows him in putting the two peoples together, and regards both as witnesses to the widespread diffusion of Caucasic races in Asia. Deniker[3] suggests that they belong to the Indo-Afghan race, with perhaps an admixture of the Assyroid race.

Previous writers have found no special reason to link the customs of the Todas with those of Malabar, and, so far as I am aware, no one has considered how far the Todas may be of the same race as any of the inhabitants of

[1] *Histoire générale des Races Humaines*, Paris, 1889, Introduction, p. 469.
[2] *Ethnology*, Cambridge, 1896, p. 418.
[3] *The Races of Man*, London, 1900, p. 412.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

171 In endeavouring to link the Todas with Malabar I have
174 naturally dwelt on the points of resemblance rather than on the points of difference. The differences are, however, very great. The general manner of life of the two peoples is now wholly different, while on the religious side I may point to the wide prevalence of snake worship in Malabar, especially among the Nambutiris.

The hypothesis that the Todas are derived from one or more of the races of Malabar would not be tenable for a moment except on the assumption that the migration took place very long ago, and that the culture of Malabar has undergone great changes since the migration. As to the length of time during which the Todas have been on the Nilgiris, we can only offer the vaguest surmises. We know that three centuries ago the Todas were living on the Nilgiris, apparently in much the same state as at the present day. The appearance of some of their sacred stones suggests great antiquity, especially the well-worn polished appearance of the *neurzülnkars*, which, if the accounts are right, are only rubbed a few times in the year.

174 On the other hand, the history of Malabar is highly conjectural. The two great positive landmarks in its history are the beginning and end of the rule of the Perumal princes. The date of the first Perumal is put at about the time of Christ, or somewhat later, and it is tempting to surmise that the Todas may have been driven or have retired from Malabar in consequence of the political changes which took place at this time. The last Perumal probably reigned about a thousand years ago, but there does not appear to have been any political upheaval at the time, the last prince having his period of office prolonged beyond the usual twelve years, and having then divided his dominions among his family and retainers.

If we assume that the Todas came from Malabar, the date of their migration would be of great interest in relation to the possibility of Christian or Jewish influences on the Toda religion. There are ancient settlements of both Christians and Jews in Malabar. Tradition assigns the starting-point of the native Christian settlements in Malabar to St. Thomas;

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

172 furnishes us with another example of material objects which
174 have wholly disappeared from the active life of the Todas, and
here again it is easy to see why the disappearance has taken
182 place, for on the Nilgiris the Todas have had no enemies, either
human or feral. This disuse of weapons has indeed so obvious
an explanation that it cannot be treated as an instance of
degeneration; and while the origin of the cairns remains
doubtful, the only evidence of degeneration of culture is
shown by the religion; and though it seems to me that
the evidence here, especially that derived from the nature
of the prayers, is conclusive, it may not be so regarded
by all.

174 In the preceding lines I have put forward for consideration
182 the tentative hypothesis that the Todas may furnish us with
an example of a people who once have possessed a higher
771 culture of which some features have undergone degeneration.
788 If we combine this hypothesis with that advanced earlier, that
the Todas came from Malabar, we may suppose that the
Todas brought the higher culture with them from this district,
and if this were so, the original culture of the Todas may have
been on much the same general level as that of the dominant
castes of Malabar at the present day. On this hypothesis, it
seems to me most likely that in their new home the religion
of the Todas underwent a very special development, its ritual
coming to centre more and more round the buffalo, because
in their very simple environment this was the most accessible
object of veneration. I think there is little doubt that the
extraordinary development of the ritual of the dairy must
have taken place since the Todas have been on the Nilgiris;
and, as I have already pointed out, it seems to me most prob-
able that the degeneration of the religion has been largely a
consequence of the extreme development of this ritual aspect
of their religion.

171 If we reject the view that the Todas are representatives of
174 one or more of the castes of Malabar whose institutions have
in some ways degenerated during a long period of isolation,
the most likely alternative view is that the Todas are one of
the hill tribes of the Western Ghats who have developed a
higher culture than the rest in the very favourable environ-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

ment provided by the Nilgiri plateau. I have already referred to the resemblance between certain Toda customs and those of one such tribe, the Hill Arrians, who live in the hills in Travancore and on the Travancore-Cochin boundary. These people are fair, about five feet six inches in height, and frequently have aquiline noses. They inherit in the male line, and have an early marriage ceremony, followed by another in which cloths are presented to the bridegroom. After child-birth the woman lives in a shed for sixteen days. They bury their dead, the earth being dug with the ceremony to which I have already alluded,[1] and though we are not told that a cloth is laid on the corpse at the funeral ceremonies, Fawcett[2] records the fact that a cloth is placed on the grave. There are thus several points of resemblance between their customs and those of the Todas, and this resemblance extends in some measure to the physical appearance and suggests, not only that they and the Todas have been influenced by the same culture, but even that they are people of the same race. We are here, however, plunged almost entirely in the region of conjecture, and we must wait for further information before we consider whether such tribes as the Hill Arrians are representatives of the same race as the Todas, both having been driven from the plains of Malabar into their mountain fastnesses, or whether the Todas and Arrians are two hill tribes of similar descent who have each been influenced by Malabar, of whom the Todas have advanced more in culture, owing to their exceptionally favourable environment on the Nilgiri plateau.

The whole of this last chapter is, I am afraid, open to the charge of being highly conjectural. It has, however, seemed to me desirable to raise some of the problems suggested by the existence of the Todas. In the settlement of these problems much further research is necessary, and I have somewhat reluctantly dealt so largely with the conjectural topics of the chapter, because they seem to point clearly to two lines of research in which further work is necessary. One is the archæology of the Nilgiris, which would, I believe, now well repay further investigation; the other is a detailed

[1] See p. 402.

[2] *Loc. cit.*

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

174 discover and turn to account any resemblances, real or apparent, between the heathen
771 religions in possession, and that which they sought to introduce, the Cattanars may
be forgiven for their mistake; especially as in a different form, it has been repeated by
777 the modern writers who have enlarged on the simple virtues of the Todas, on their desire for instruction, their freedom from idolatry, and consequent readiness to accept Christianity, under the common delusion that the soil which has proved too sterile to nurture a false religion, is the fittest for the reception of the true. Mr. Whitehouse's manuscript shows that further inquiry did not confirm the tale of the Cattanars. I know of no Christian remains of any sort on the Nīlagiris, nor can I find, in the customs of the Hill tribes, anything that can reasonably be referred to a reminiscence of Christianity. Mr. Metz derives Peranganād (Toda *Pirgár*) from Feringhi; but we have no evidence, as to the origin or antiquity of the name, that can warrant us in attributing it to the existence of ancient Christian settlements.*

771 If not Christian, however, the Toda religion is singular enough. Its trace of element worship, trace of ancestor worship, and strong pastoral colouring are almost Vedic; while the omission from their Pantheon of the regular gods of the plains, in any of their innumerable forms, indicates long isolation.

171 Some few of their customs resemble those of the various Kol tribes. The similarity in the funeral rites of the Ho and Mūndah Kols of Nagpore has already been noticed; the Larkā Kols have the same singular law of inheritance, by which the house becomes the property of the youngest son; they also offer a young buffalo once a year (like the Polkis); but it is to the well-known goddess Bhawānī; and they break a pot at funerals, their dead being sometimes burnt, sometimes buried.†

---

114 * While these pages have been passing through the press, Mr. Whitehouse's interesting narrative of the Syrian Church of Malabar (Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land, being Researches into the past History and present Constitution of the Syrian Church of Malabar, by the Revd. Thomas Whitehouse, M.A.) has been published. In this work, page 133, the author expresses his decided opinion that "there is no reason whatever "to believe that the Todas of the Nīlagiris were ever in any way associated with either the Christian or "Manichean settlers of the Low Country or of the Coast of Malabar, or had ever known anything of "Christianity, even so much as its external forms."—*Editor.*

† The following description of some of the Papuans applies word for word to the Todas:—

"Sie haben religiöse Gebräuche und Uebungen welche, mit einigen anderen Erscheinungen in ihrem Leben, "mit ihrem jetzigen Culturzustande ganz unvereinbar erscheinen, wenn man darin nicht die Spuren einer früher "höhern Bildung erkennen will."

"They have religious customs and practices, which, as well as some other circumstances in their life, seem "quite irreconcilable with their present state of civilization, unless we recognise in them the traces of a formerly "higher culture."—*Trench's Study of Words, page 22, note.*

It need hardly be said that it was not intended in this work to enter on the vexed question of the origin of civilization. The cases of the Todas and Kurumbas were considered on their own merits without bias in favour of any theories about Primeval man, and the evidence of their degradation is given for what it is worth. That such instances of decay exist can hardly be questioned; whether they are the rule or the exception will probably not be seen, if ever, determined. Meanwhile, to ascertain facts about the tribes in question seemed more germane to the matter than to discuss theories of civilization.—*Editor.*

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

others who had been employed, not with conspicuous success, on planters' estates. The Todas consider it beneath their dignity to cultivate land. A former Collector of the Nilgiris granted them some acres of land for the cultivation of potatoes, but they leased the land to the Badagas, and the privilege was cancelled. In connection with the Todas' objection to work, it is recorded that when, on one occasion, a mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to hard remedies, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer. The daily life of a Toda woman has been summed up as lounging about the mad or mand (Toda settlement), buttering and curling her hair, and cooking. The women have been described as free from the ungracious and menial-like timidity of the generality of the sex in the plains. When Europeans (who are greeted as swāmi or god) come to a mand, the women crawl out of their huts, and chant a monotonous song, all the time clamouring for tips (inām). Even the children are so trained that they clamour for money till it is forthcoming. As a rule, the Todas have no objection to Europeans entering into their huts, but on more than one occasion I have been politely asked to take my boots off before crawling in on the stomach, so as not to desecrate the dwelling-place. Writing in 1868, Dr. J. Shortt makes a sweeping statement that "most of the women have been debauched by Europeans, who, it is sad to observe, have introduced diseases to which these innocent tribes were once strangers, and which are slowly but no less surely sapping their once hardy and vigorous constitutions. The effects of intemperance and disease (syphilis) combined are becoming more and more

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60
Coorg AW5

PERSONAL NAMES OF THE TODAS[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU

IN societies organized in sibs, the sib unit sometimes has a name which is borne by all its members. Personal names often have no relation to the sib unit, but either are drawn from a common stock which may be utilized indiscriminately by all the sibs, or are invented according to patterns which are distinct from the pattern of sib-division. The latter type is seen in the system employed by the Plains Indians of North America. The former resembles the family naming system employed normally in European or European-derived cultures, where it is not combined with a sib-division except in such groups as the Scottish clans.

§1. An example of sib-division combined with utilization of a common stock of personal names is seen in the Coorgs of South India. Among these people the patrilineal sibs have each a name which is borne by every member of the sib. Personal names are drawn from a rather small stock, consisting of some sixty names for men and a slightly smaller number for women. A male or an unmarried female is identified by the sib-name, the father's personal name, and the individual's personal name, in this order. A married female bears her husband's sib-name, his personal name, and her own personal name. There seems to be no tendency for personal names to be linked with particular sibs. A slight tendency is found to preserve the use of particular personal names within the family (as distinguished from the sib) by giving to a child the name of some dead ancestor within the family whose memory it is desired to perpetuate. It is doubtful, however, whether this tendency has even as much force as the similar tendency in European or American society; a notable difference between the two is that the Coorgs do not give such names during the lifetime of the earlier bearer of the name, since this would cause a certain amount of confusion within the family.

§2. Among the Todas, a pastoral tribe of the Nilgiris in South India, the method of giving names is different from both those outlined above. The individual does not bear a name which is common to all members of his

[1] This paper represents a small part of the work which I have done on the non-literary languages of South India, under the auspices and with the financial aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1933–36 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936–37. I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr David Mandelbaum, who read over the paper and made numerous helpful suggestions. The system of phonemic writing for Toda words is the same as that employed in my paper, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937); in that paper, *t*, *ṇ*, *ṛ* should be read for *v*, *ḍ*, *ɣ* in Toda words throughout. Accent is always on the initial syllable.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

He also gives a feast. If the father is not alive, the duty devolves on his brothers, real or classificatory, in his immediate family, then on the woman's brothers, real or classificatory, in the immediate family, then on the generation of her brothers' sons. This obligation, both in regard to "bribe" and to "dowry," is still maintained in most cases between the two communities. The missionaries in this case approve, at least, Miss Ling approves. About ten years ago the Christian [kiš̃ker] gave one buffalo to [keːnoʒ] (21, Keinodz), who is not a Christian, as "bribe" for the latter's classificatory sister [sodamut] (Sadamut), who was already a Christian; [keːnoʒ] then gave three buffaloes as "dowry." Previously the non-Christian [idjoːn] had given "dowry" for his Christian sister [lamdiːfj] (20, Numdeivi) when she was married to [kiš̃ker], the "bribe" having been given by the latter. When [kiš̃ker]'s father's sister [tuarfuːemj] (59, Turvalami) was married to [piθjornaːf] (64, Puthion), both the latter being non-Christians, a "bribe" was given to [kiš̃ker] by the latter and [kiš̃ker] gave three buffaloes as "dowry." [kuaroːn], who got his wife from the Todas by carrying her off (the [ter] pattern), did not give a "bribe" or get "dowry," though it is clear that the tribal patterns demanded it.

We find then that the tribe, though it has some resentment against the Christian converts from its ranks and treats them in some respects as outcastes, yet retains with them some rather important relationships. In marriage affairs the Christian Todas tend to be treated, without compulsion on either side, as if they were still members of the tribe. In funeral matters the tribe tries to demand that the Christians should fulfil their obligations, though the Christians are on the whole unwilling to meet them. If we look at the Badagas, we find that Christian converts from their ranks are outcastes and that the original community has no relations at all with them. No Kota has ever become a Christian. When we go to the more classical Hindu areas, we find from missionary accounts at least (few other accounts have ever been given), that in many cases the Christian converts are entirely outcaste and that no relations are maintained with the castes of origin other than that of extreme hostility on the part of the caste (the picture is perhaps not so simple as this, but accounts are defective). Can any explanation be given for the peculiar features in the Toda case? It is possibly to be found in the general situation. The areas in which the tribe and the Christians live is comparatively small, the two communities see much of one another necessarily, the Christian community still retains cattle as a necessary part of its economic life and so has a community of interest with the tribe and moreover has had to depend on the tribe in part for

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

of the oldest men in the tribe and now dead; see *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, note 2) when theology was once being discussed in my presence. This belief has no influence on the formulas of Toda ritual, and is clearly quite extraneous to the proper cult. It is undoubtedly a borrowing from other Hindu communities, as is the frequent use of the vocative *somi* as an expletive of surprise and wonder. Christian missionary teaching seems to have had no influence at all on Toda belief and practices.

It is of some interest to enquire why the Todas have not set up in their villages shrines of Hindu deities. It might seem that the nature of the munds, explained above, consisting of a sacred part which is itself a god and a profane part where carriers of pollution, especially women, live, would preclude the admission of a Hindu deity. Such an argument however is quite irrelevant, and would undoubtedly have no weight if the occasion ever arose when the need of setting up a shrine was felt. In general, such shrines or temples are not set up in South India at random. A Hindu god in the mind of rustic and unlettered communities is definitely associated with the spot where his temple is, and will move to another spot only if he so wills it and makes known his will through a diviner or other person who is possessed of this god. This was the case when the Kotas of one of the villages some years ago at a time of epidemic brought to their village a new trinity of gods, who are said to have come from Karaimadai in the plains. These new gods spoke through a man who is now one of the official diviners of this trinity. He had not before been a diviner. It can hardly be doubted that discussion had previously taken place about the efficacy of the old polyandrous trinity of the village and that the general tension of feeling consequent on the epidemic helped to bring about the possession of the man by the new gods. Incidentally, the presence in this village of two trinities with attributes and ceremonies of the same order has caused an immense amount of friction within the community. The Todas also have their diviners and it is quite conceivable that they should at some time produce utterances with the same purport as those of the above-mentioned Kota. This has not happened so far, and it may be that the present pattern of their utterances makes it improbable that they

Il:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939
AW60 Toda AW60

TODA MENSTRUATION PRACTICES*

By

M. B. EMENEAU, Yale University.

841 121 The Todas of the Nilgiris in South India in the regulations governing women during menstruation are as peculiar as in many other of their institutions. In the account of their regulations which is presented in this paper this will be shown by reference to the regulations of the communities surrounding them.

841 171 During this period Toda women are not secluded, as they are by the Kotas and Badagas of the Nilgiris and by most other communities of India. They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden, but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair, bathing etc. Contact is always avoided even in the woman's normal state [602] [614] with a man of the same patrilineal sib or with a man of the same matrilineal line,[1] but during menstruation no further restrictions are imposed. They cook as usual; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's [684] menstrual period is apparently broken at times; no penalty is applied either to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however [793] [234] who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after the next new moon.

841 708 234 [962] The period involves however an even stricter seclusion from contact with the dairy-complex than is usually enjoined on the Toda women. The restriction on a man's becoming a priest after intercourse with a menstruating woman has just been mentioned. Normally women may drink buttermilk from the dairies, and it is the women's task to take receptacles to the line of stones marking off the houses, or profane part of the mands,[2] from the dairy and its grounds, in order that the priest may fill them with buttermilk. Both these positions are forbidden for menstruating women. Even during their

---

[122] * This paper was written during receipt of aid from the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund), to which I must acknowledge my gratitude.

[113] 1. See my paper "Toda marriage regulations and taboos" in *American Anthropologist* 39. 103-12.

[361] [938] [946] 2. A mand is any place where the Todas live or carry on tribal activities which are localized, e.g., funerals or dairy operations. In my paper "Toda culture thirty-five years after" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIX. pp. 101-121, I have outlined the nature of the mands and have shown that those at which the people live are typically made up of two parts, a dairy-complex which is a god, and a profane part where the houses are.

Il:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939
AW60 Toda AW60

841 Finally we come to the question of the woman's personal hygiene during menses. As is very usual, a bath is prescribed after menstruation is over, to remove the last traces of uncleanliness. But, very unusual among primitive communities, the Toda woman during her period wears a sanitary napkin designed to absorb the flow of blood. Formerly it was made of moss wrapped into a pad with a piece of cloth and attached before and behind to the usual silver or brass chain girdle or, failing this, to a waist-string. At present rags [178] are more common in the munds than formerly and the pad may be made wholly of rags. The pad is changed when necessary, and all discarded ones [171] are burnt. Such pads are also used by Kota and by Badaga women, but their use has not been reported, so far as I know, for the women of any other Indian community.

841 794 563 177 The contrast between the menstrual regulations of the Todas and those of other Indian communities is neatly pointed by the habits of the small Toda Christian community. The converted Toda women have not been sufficient in number to provide wives for all the Toda men converts and the deficiency has been made up by converted Tamilian women. The two sets of women continue their pre-Christian customs during menstruation. The Toda women wear the sanitary napkin and continue to cook and to live in all parts of the house. The Tamilian women, on the other hand, wear no napkins, refuse to cook and will not even enter the room where the cooking-hearth is built.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

But, since they
174 speak a Dravidian language, closely allied with Kannada and Tamil, and more closely, as I
64 judge provisionally, with Kannada, it seems probable to look to a generalized South Indian
[197] background as a basis for the highly specialized and aberrant Toda culture forms. We find at once that the generalized South Indian culture background includes exogamous patrilineal clans with marriage forbidden also within the matrilineal line to degrees that vary from community to community.[9] There is no record of fully developed exogamous matrilineal clans in the large area until we reach the Malabar region on the southwest coast of India. There we find in some caste-communities matrilineal descent to the exclusion of patrilineal. Rivers
[114] was inclined on a number of grounds to uphold the hypothesis that the Todas in very early times migrated to the Nilgiris from Malabar.[10] Practically all of his pieces of evidence prove invalid.

197 It was a wild guess that the Toda language is closely related to Malayalam, and the fact
174 that some of the diviners of the Todas undoubtedly do speak a very fragmentary Malayalam
[79] during their performances is irrelevant. The diviners speak the language of the god by whom
[787] they are possessed; the god who inspires most of the Toda diviners has his temple in the Wynaad among a Malayalam-speaking population. It was suggested[11] that the model house or dairy used in the *ur-kōv* ceremony, and called *pōd-pej* (Rivers' *pālpali*), has some connection with the tamarind joint used in a Nair ceremony. Linguistically this is impossible; the Toda word for tamarind (*pyḷ*) has no possible connection.

174 Toda polyandry was connected with the various types of polyandry formerly, and in
595 some cases still, practised in Malabar. Much more investigation is needed in Malabar be-
[114] fore comparison can be made safely between the institutions. It has been the experience of ethnologists in India that no summary accounts of communities hitherto published can be trusted. Even the best of them, such as the various *Castes and Tribes* volumes, are highly untrustworthy. Since in Malabar, polyandry is combined with matrilineal descent, the situation is undoubtedly oriented differently from that of the Todas, and a study of the total configuration in Malabar castes should be made before comparisons are entered upon. Furthermore, Toda polyandry needs to be reexamined in the light of the fact that the Kotas
●[171] of the Nilgiris have been found to practise a special type of fraternal polyandry.[12]

174 The *tōṭṭi* or "lover-mistress" institution (Rivers' *mokhthoditi*) is on the whole so
837 unlike the marriages between the younger sons of Nambutiri Brahmans and Nair women that use of the superficial and strained resemblance is highly unprofitable.

[9] I base this statement partly on the literature (not all the pertinent facts are to be found there), partly on my own investigations (which were thorough among the Coorgs, an account of whose regulations will be found in my paper *Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs* [Journal, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. 2, pp. 123-67, 1936]; sketchy enquiries were made on several other communities). The point, I think, is of more fundamental importance for the understanding of South Indian ethnology than that about cross-cousin
[114] marriage, which Rivers treated in *The Marriage of Cousins in India* (Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 611-40, 1907). [10] Pp. 699-718, especially pp. 698 ff. [11] Rivers, p. 702.

[12] D. G. Mandelbaum, *Polyandry in Kota Society* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 172-83, 1938).

12:Emeneau L-S (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

The giving of cloths in various Toda ceremonies was compared with cloth-giving ceremonies in Malabar. It will be found, however, as Rivers recognized,[10] that giving of cloths, both in marriage ceremonies and otherwise, is very general throughout India. No stress should be laid on this detail until and unless further investigations of other Indian communities warrant it. So also with the breaking of pots at funerals; it is not confined to the Todas and the Malabar coast.

The use of poles and boxes at funerals, of cowries, and of leaf-umbrellas, all of these being obtained from Malabar, is hardly more than the use of trade-objects, and is probably to be regarded as an example of diffusion of comparatively unessential material objects. The place of origin does not matter in the case of the cowries and the umbrellas; they have now been replaced by glass beads and European-type umbrellas respectively. It is doubtful whether the place of origin has any significance in the case of the other objects.

The Toda munds at Gudalur are well known in tradition as recent foundations; they have now been abandoned. The origin of some sacred buffaloes in the Wynaad, i.e. the same general area between the Nilgiris and Malabar, is paralleled by the origin of other sacred buffaloes on the Coimbatore, i.e. the Tamilian, plains on the other side of the Nilgiris.

It is evident then that the Malabar origin for the Todas and their customs favored by Rivers is untenable.[11] The Toda matrilineal sibs, which were unknown to Rivers, could have been used by him to bolster up his hypothesis, but it would have proved to be of no more value than his other evidence. It is clear that the general South Indian situation sketched above provides a sufficient basis for the Toda developments. The South Indian exogamous patrilineal sib has retained full vigor among the Todas. The exogamous tendencies of the matrilineal line which work in varying degrees in all South Indian communities have been developed among the Todas into full-fledged exogamous matrilineal sibs, probably on the model of the patrilineal sibs and facilitated by the small size of the tribe. We have here nothing more than an isolated local development, easily derivable from a general cultural feature of South India. The resemblance to the Malabar matrilineal communities is only superficial, for there the patrilineal units, if they originally existed, have been entirely superseded by the matrilineal units.

[10] Rivers, p. 700.

[11] Rivers also toyed with Coorg as a source for Toda customs, basing this partly on linguistic, partly on ethnological grounds. It may be mentioned here that the polyandry alleged for the Coorgs, if it ever existed, seems to have left no trace either verbally or in relic-institutions, so far as I was able to discover in eight months of linguistic work in Coorg. The linguistic grounds given by Rivers (p. 114) for Toda knowledge of the Coorgs are incorrect. The Todas call the plains at the foot of the Nilgiris, i.e. to the south, east, and northeast, kōtag. This is etymologically connected with Kota kogg in the same meaning, Tamil koṭṭai "the Tamil country comprising the districts of Coimbatore, Salem, and a portion of Mysore," in effect the same area as that meant by the Toda and Kota words, Kannada kogge with the same meaning as the Tamil word, Malayalam koṭṭa (no dictionary is accessible for the meaning). Rivers understood at least one instance of the Toda word as being equivalent to the English word Coorg. This is impossible. "Coorg" represents the Kannada koḍagu, which cannot be connected with Toda kōtag and its cognates. The Todas have no knowledge of the Coorg country or of its inhabitants.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

595 833 little say in the matter. Whether this is generally true of other Toda households, I cannot say, not having studied them in such intimate detail as the Melgarol (people from Melgarsh). It was Erzigwuf who would decide which of the three brothers, Mutnarsh, Kuddhue, or Munbokwutn, she would have with her for the night. She usually slept with [732] [845] [787] the eldest, Mutnarsh, and while I was in the Nilgiris would have nothing to do with Kuddhue because he being a cripple, she feared that he was the cause of her having twice given birth to twins (an evil omen with the Todas). I rarely saw the youngest, Munbokwutn, join her; so much even, that I enquired once if he ever slept with her. To which I got the reply that if he did not, he would not stay. Erzigwuf's predilection for Mutnarsh was due to her preferring him, I felt, because he had the strongest personality. He was also the eldest which, even if it did not prejudice the common wife in his favour, did undoubtedly contribute to give him the assurance and poise which attracted her.

833 I enquired which was the usual position in which these people had coitus, and heard that it was that in which the woman lies on her back with the man on top of her, between her open legs. Only the inhabitants [186] of Malabar "do it the other way round", I was told, not without a certain amount of amused sarcasm. I also heard that copulation never [352] [515] took place, and should never do so, on the *ertïlkh*, the raised earthen platform which serves as a bed and seat inside a Toda *arsh*. But as I received contradictory information on this point (others assuring me that it was, on the contrary, just there that couples made love), the latter should be accepted with reservation.

842 [171] No kind of birth control is practised at all, as is generally the case all over India. This is, to a large extent, due to ignorance, and where this is not so, to religious convictions, the former of these two reasons being probably dominant with the Todas. It is so in spite of a very 831 active and varied sexual life of both sexes within the tribe, something which strikes even an untrained observer at once. Toda women, I was told by Kanvarsathi, "think of nothing else (than sexual intercourse), escaping whenever they can into the *sholas* to copulate with men of their choice". Emeneau has recorded in *Language and Social Forms: A Study of Toda Kinship Terms and Dual Descent*, p. 173 (see Bibliography), that the Todas are "vigorously and adventurously sexual". He also says, further on: "Ordinary marriages within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the *to:tjoff* (*terershti*) institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity." He goes on

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

114 lineal sib has appeared in this discussion of the *kinship terminology.*
582 The *primary function* was shown . . . to be that of *regulating mar-*
614 *riage;* no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matri-lineal sib" (Emeneau, 1941, p. 167; my italics).

114 Note also how the terminology operates: ". . . even when the
601 lines of a pedigree have been lost to memory the correct terminology
614 based on the lost pedigree is maintained. Each male and female born to the sib is addressed with the appropriate term by every other member of the sib, and persons related by marriage to and descent from the sib members are also addressed with the appropriate terms" (p. 165).

[171] It is clear that the terminology is operating in the same way as the categories of marriage we have seen in Ceylon, but even though this is a particularly impressive use of language in channeling social behavior, Emeneau wants to link the prohibitions to "exogamy" of one kind or another.

114 The entire case turns around the use of an admittedly difficult key
602 word, *puliol.* Rivers is quite specific about the use of this term. To
614 him it implies certain "prohibited relations": (1) FBD, (2) MZD, (3) FZ, ZD, (4) FFZD (1906, p. 509), and he notes in an important passage p. 509): ". . . if a man thought of a given woman, he thought of her as one, or not one of his puliol, and it seemed to me in several cases as if it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his puliol included all the people of his own clan."

It is a compliment to River's perceptiveness as an ethnographer that he has here detected a subtle matter which gives a good indication to the kin structure of the Toda. He is not really mistaken; it is just
[582] that the Toda do not think of the *mad* as exogamous, just as the Sin-
[171] halese simply do not think in terms of exogomy, but of prohibited and enjoined "categories."

To Emeneau this passage merely means that Rivers mistakenly includes the clansmen in the puliol who are only the matri-sib members. In trying to fit the recalcitrant facts into his argument he gives many examples which indicate that he has misunderstood this classificatory system:

> [Rivers' fourth category (above)] . . . the daughters of the sisters of his father's father gave him trouble because of the two cases of marriage to such persons found in the genealogies. *The truth is that such marriages are not forbidden.* The sisters of a man's paternal grandfather are not poljo:l to him, but urd mort kva:dvoj; they cannot have married his urd mort kva:dvoj; and their daughters will not be related to him in any prohibited way. The rule given that a person must not marry the child of his . . . matchuni, i.e., cross-cousin . . . is incorrect. His cross-cousin may have married a man of

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

114 602 cannot assume that wherever we have marriage prohibitions we must also find exogamous lineages.

• [171] In fact, on the basis of Rivers' evidence, the Toda can be established as a particular instance of the general structure described for Ceylon. The crucial indices are present: (1) Cross-cousin categories associated with the systematic Dravidian terminology and marriage rules; and (2) the formally recognized rights and obligations between (MB-ZS) (FZ-BD) and between cross-cousins of either type. The tabulation of Toda requirements will establish them as using the same general structure described above.

MB-ZS	F-S
ZS named by MB (Rivers, 1906, p. 332) (BD named by FZ p. 332)	Handburning (p. 315)
Hair cutting and naming by MB (p. 333)	Bow-and-arrow ritual (pp. 319 f.) before birth to establish paternity
Ear-piercing by MB (p. 334)	Uncover boy's face (p. 331)
Funeral: ZS to supply buffalo; for child MB (also S-in-L)	F chief mourner at funeral
Name of MB and F-in-L tabooed to ZS (and S-in-L) (p. 494)	S chief fourner at funeral
ZS gives cord tied around corpse of MB	Cutting of lock of hair at funeral by "son, brother, or father"
Special ceremonial exchanges at funeral	
Matchuni (Cross-cousins)	Brothers
Important role in funerals (p. 499)	No special ceremonial obligations outstanding
Special ceremonial acts while eating together, crossing rivers, etc.	
Special role of male *matchuni* at funeral of female *matchuni*	
Male and female *matchuni* proper sexual mates	

171 582 601 608 The similarities between the Toda kin structure and the Kandyan Sinhalese go far beyond the superficial. Emeneau rightly observed, for instance, that "these fundamental rules [i.e., the prohibitions inherent in the terminology] govern not only marriage but also all sexual relationships" (1937, p. 104). The same is, of course, true of the Kandyans. It is because the rules of mating are clearly established that the actual connection between the husband and wife can be extremely tenuous. And since paternity is legally and publicly established at the bow-